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NATIONAL REVIEW

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Security to Burn

HARLEY L. LUTZ

America's Wasting Asset: Character

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The Self-Importance of Picasso

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · RICHARD M. WEAVER
E. MERRILL ROOT · JAMES BURNHAM · L. BRENT BOZELL
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · C. D. WILLIAMS · J. P. McFADDEN

For the Record

West Coast Liberals are plotting an elaborate posthumous attack on Senator Joseph McCarthy. A book or Broadway play satirizing his career will be followed by a movie.... The Order of General Pulaski, an organization dedicated to the liberation of Poland, presented a scroll to Mrs. McCarthy honoring her husband.

Artist Rockwell Kent, recently elected chairman of the Communist front National Council for American Soviet Friendship, has been refused a passport by the State Department. The Soviet Union will stage a large exhibition of his works next September....The Bill of Rights Fund endowed by Corliss Lamont has contributed $500 to the Committee to defend Grady and Judy Jenkins, members of the Communist Party who were arrested recently for violation of a Louisiana law governing subversive activities ....The House Committee on Un-American Activities has found the Metropolitan Music School of New York to be "controlled by identified Communists." A course offered at the school: "bourgeois music culture in the period of monopoly capitalism."

The resolutions subcommittee of the NEA has asked the Selective Service System to "recognize teaching as an occupation critical to the national welfare." Object: to immunize teachers from the peacetime draft.

According to House investigators, the Defense Department has awarded nine-tenths of its arms contracts without insisting on competitive bids. They will urge Congress to make sealed bills mandatory....A bill increasing by $250,000 the U.S. annual contribution to the International Labor Organization has been passed by the Senate and sent to the House.

Veteran Communist Noel Field, the State Department employee who introduced Alger Hiss to Hede Massing and who later took political asylum in Budapest, has denounced the UN Report on Hungary as "interspersed with misleading half-truths and slanderous falsehoods." He commended the Kadar regime for refusing members of the UN committee entry into Hungary....Trade between the Soviet Union and the free world has risen 30 per cent within the year....An International News Service reporter in Yugoslavia recently saw workers inking out the "U.S.A." stamped on crates filled with machine tools from New York, and restamping them for reshipment to Communist China.

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The WEEK

• It is regrettable that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reversed itself by approving a long-term (three year) Foreign Aid bill. The appeal to Congress of not having to go through the Foreign Aid fight year after year must be well-nigh compulsive. If they can just do it once, and get it out of the way for a while, they can answer their importuners in 1958 and 1959 by saying simply: "The matter is out of our hands. It's this way for the next three years." The burdens of responsibility are great, but Congressmen should bear in mind that they asked for the job; and if they don't want it there are others who will take it, and the responsibilities that inhere in it.

• Whether the steel companies' recent decision to add $6 a ton to the steel price is sound will depend on the willingness of the customers, both wholesale and retail, to absorb it. There is no doubt, however, that steel had to try *something*. For years the tax laws, which oblige companies to depreciate old equipment on the basis of its original cost in non-inflated dollars, have compelled steel accountants to overstate profits. The overstated profits have, in turn, been taxed twice—first, as corporation income, and second, as the income of dividend collectors. From first to last there has been little surplus left in the economy to finance new steel capacity. Because of this, a price increase was clearly justified: steel men—and the men who like to invest in steel companies—must have some source of savings if the steel-making equipment of the nation is ever to be renovated. The recent rise in steel wages was an added factor in the steel men's decision. But the need for higher steel profits antedated the wage increase by many a moon.

• The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which infused some $50 billion into the American economy in the thirties, has finally shut up shop and taken its nameplate from the door. Let it be known that there was at least one heavy-spending government agency which did not move in accordance with Parkinson's Law. Just to give credit where credit is due, it was Mr. Herbert Hoover, the last U.S. President to believe in providing "terminal facilities" for questionable grants of power, who signed the original bill creating the RFC. True, the RFC has left its offspring—the Small Business Administration is still dealing out the taxpayers' money to help private industry. But there is some consolation in remembering that small business is small, and that it cannot grow big without disqualifying itself as a recipient of Parkinsonian largesse.

• President Eisenhower responded beyond the call of duty to the First Amendment when he formally dedicated the Moslem mosque at the Islamic Center in Washington. For one thing, under Islamic law he is an infidel, and the doffing of his shoes won't get him anywhere with Allah. For another, the President has the constitutional duty to see to it that everyone be free to worship as he pleases, but hardly to go about declaring alien religions "just as welcome as could be any center of worship of any religion." That kind of overweening tact ends one up at the mercy of a relativism which few Moslems would make the mistake of relapsing into: Picture a burnoused Arabian king dedicating a steepled Congregational Church!

• The late Ernest T. Weir, who died shortly after picking Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey to succeed him as chairman of the National Steel Corporation, was a man of uncommon virtues. True, he had his serious blindnesses—for example, he was a leading neutralist vis-à-vis Soviet Russia. But his career as an industrialist was a living refutation of the myths that were current in his time about Big Business. Was steel inevitably a closed preserve for "monopolists"? Well, Mr. Weir parlayed a small West Virginia mill into the fifth largest steel company in the land, and this at a time when the "colossus" of the U.S. Steel Corporation was supposedly making "individualism" an outmoded word in the industry. Did the big steel men have the power to ruin anybody who refused to accept the price "leadership" of the big companies? Well, National Steel cut prices wherever and whenever it chose. Was it true that no steel man would dare offend the rest of the trade by putting up plate mills in the Detroit area? Well, Ernie Weir did invade Detroit, and got away with it handsomely. Weir proudly proclaimed himself an "economic royalist" in the thirties and made his refusal to deal with the CIO stand up throughout the era of the sit-down strike. He was a man of courage.

• Too much has been made of Dr. Joseph Kris' bill to the parents of little Benjy Hooper. Perhaps the bill was exorbitant. Perhaps even it was heartless. The fact remains that Dr. Kris made substantial personal sacrifices, which included the neglect of other patients, in devoting his attention for three days to Benjy Hooper. It is also a fact that the

Hoopers walked away from the near-tragedy with a net surplus from donations and television appearances in excess of the amount of Dr. Kris' bill. We deplore the anxiety with which publicists for federal medical aid jumped upon Dr. Kris, crying Shylock. Why don't those who lament the impoverishment of the Hoopers send them money, rather than commandeer altruism in others?

• Sign of the Times: In the season when Senator McCarthy dies, Alger Hiss gets published, John Stewart Service is reinstated, Corliss Lamont and John Watkins are freed of contempt conviction, and J. Robert Oppenheimer is lionized, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Vogeler—he was imprisoned and tortured by the Communists for two years; she literally besieged Dean Acheson until his release was negotiated —will, two weeks hence, lose their home at a public auction in Bedford, New York, due to a mortgage foreclosure.

• The same sources that have been publicizing anti-Batista propaganda from Cuba and predicting the early success of Cuban revolutionists are now getting to work on the Venezuelan regime of General Pérez Jiménez. Writing in the July 1 *New Leader*, Mr. Robert J. Alexander, a socialist university teacher whose vocation it is to support the Latin American Left, condemns Pérez Jiménez on all counts, and "foresees" an early conquest of power, probably through force, by "the democratic elements." Mr. Alexander does not feel it relevant to mention the fact that under Pérez Jiménez the great Venezuelan oil fields and Venezuela's military installations have been firmly welded into the American strategic system.

• With the fourth and final Sunday (June 30) of Lebanon's general election, the pro-Western government of Premier Sami es-Solh, first in the Middle East to announce acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, ran up a victory sufficient to assure it a two-thirds majority in the new Parliament. Dr. Charles Malik, the philosopher-Foreign Minister well known in this country, overwhelmed his Communist opponent by a vote of 10,302 to 276.

• Officers of the law in Detroit are suffering from acute embarrassment as the result of the statements of Francis C. Drury, 54, apprehended burglar of the offices of the Mechanics Educational Society of America. The trouble with Drury, paradoxically, is that he has "confessed"—and, given what he has confessed to, it would have been better if he had got away with MESA's money, furniture, and maybe even a secretary or two. For Drury's story is that he was put up to the job by agents of the UAW who wanted to get their hands on certain of MESA's employment files. Ridiculous, UAW spokesmen have said. I don't believe a word of it, MESA's president has dutifully said. Sounds phony to us, Detroit police say. But Drury goes on and on, maintaining that's the way it was. We certainly hope he will be brought to trial, and prosecuted not only for burglary, but for perjury as well. As we say, we certainly hope he comes to trial.

Mr. Dulles on Red China

During these past several months of disarmament courtship, flirtations with Peiping, easing of trade bans and boosting of cultural exchanges, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, our chief minister for foreign affairs, has been conspicuous for his silence. Although these matters fall within his official province, he has left discussion of them to Mr. Harold Stassen in London, to the President in his puzzling press conferences, and to the Liberal hierarchs in their newspaper columns.

Now finally—on the fiercely controversial topic that is touchstone to all the others: on American policy toward the Chinese Communist regime—Mr. Dulles has spoken carefully, clearly and fully. For his audience he chose San Francisco, the city that by geography, economy and tradition is most nearly concerned with our China policy. His address there delivered on June 28 is the most cogent and eloquent of his career, a demonstration that Mr. Dulles can lift himself above the lawyer's quibbles, vague pieties and clever ambiguities that have marred some of his public actions, to reach a level of statesmanship almost empty in our time. Without evasion and without demagogy, Mr. Dulles states the truths, examines fairly the arguments of the appeasers, makes his reasoned analysis, and states his firm conclusions.

The Chinese Communist regime "retains power not by the will of the Chinese people but by massive forcible repressions. . . . It does not disguise its expansionist ambitions. It is bitterly hateful of the United States, which it considers its principle obstacle in the path of conquest. . . .

"Chou En-lai . . . [has] stated frankly that his regime did intend to use force to take Taiwan unless they could get it some other way . . .

"The Chinese Communist regime is violating the 1953 Korean armistice and the 1954 Indochina armistice . . .

"United States diplomatic recognition of Communist China would have the following consequences:

"1. The many mainland Chinese who by Mao Tse-tung's own recent admission seek to change the nature of their Government would be immensely discouraged.

"2. The millions of overseas Chinese would feel that they had no free China to look to, [and] would, reluctantly, turn to acceptance of the guiding direction of the Communist regime. . . .

"3. The republic of China now on Taiwan would feel betrayed. . . .

"4. The free Asian governments of the Pacific and Southeast Asia would be gravely perplexed. . . . If we seemed to waver and to compromise with Communism in China, that would in turn weaken free Asia resistance to the Chinese Communist regime and assist international Communism to score a great success in its program to encircle us.

"United States recognition of Communist China would make it probable that the Communist regime would obtain the seat of China in the United Nations.

"Trade with Communist China is . . . wholly controlled by an official apparatus and its limited amounts of foreign exchange are used to develop as rapidly as possible a formidable military establishment. . . .

"We also doubt the value of cultural exchanges. . . .

"Now, of course, the United States knows that the Chinese Communist regime exists. We know that very well because they fought us in Korea . . .

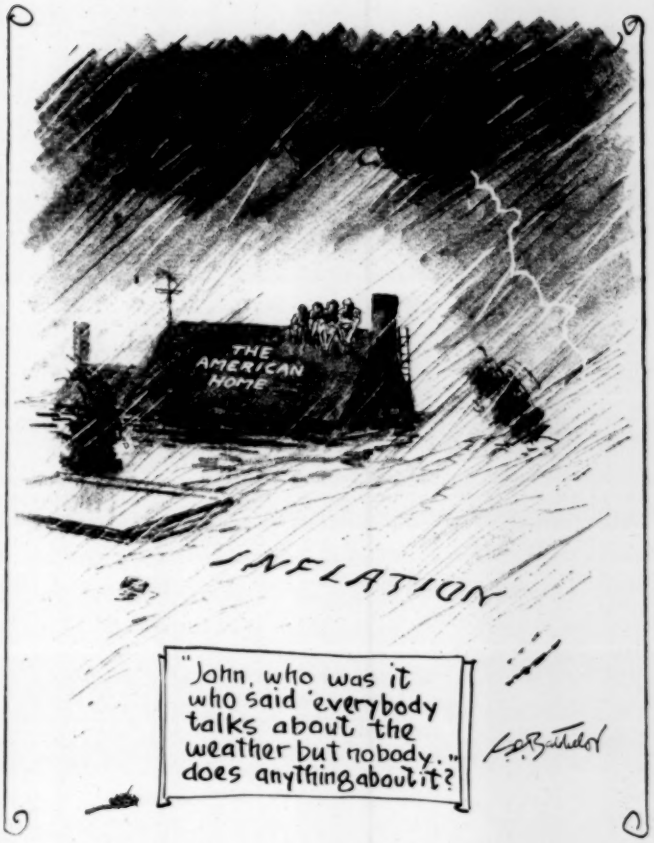
"Now another argument sometimes beginning to be heard is that diplomatic recognition is inevitable, so why not now? Let me say emphatically that the United States need never succumb to the argument of 'inevitability.' We, with our friends, can fashion our own destiny. We do not accept the mastery of Communist forces.

"These Communist despotisms are not so immutable as they sometimes appear. . . . Communism is repugnant to the Chinese people. . . .

"Internationally, the Chinese Communist regime does not conform to the practices of civilized nations; does not live up to its international obligations; has not been peaceful in the past, and gives no evidence of being peaceful in the future. Its foreign policies are hostile to us and our Asian allies. . . .

"United States policies will never serve as a rallying point for free peoples if the impression is created that our policies are subject to change to meet Communist wishes for no reason other than that Communism itself does not want to change. If Communism is stubborn for the wrong, let us be steadfast for the right."

Unfortunately we cannot conclude that Mr. Dulles is voicing the unanimous view of the Administration, within which deeply entrenched appeasers are tirelessly gnawing. But by the San Francisco address Mr. Dulles is at any rate himself flatly committed. Unless personal honor has become a total delusion, his continuing presence in the Cabinet's highest post precludes an early shift in our China policy.


THE AMERICAN HOME
INFLATION
"John, who was it who said 'everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it?"

Tito & Pollyanna

It has not been announced, but it is clearly only a matter of time before Edward R. Murrow will be interviewing Mao Tse-tung and Janos Kadar, such is our appetite to see the enemy, decked in civilized trappings, act out his part for us. Last week, immediately following Murrow's interview with Tito, CBS had the good sense to sponsor a panel of three observers. Unfortunately, one of these observers, the very gracious Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, made some staggeringly silly comments, substantially vitiating the effect of the on-the-spot analysis.

Marshal Tito laid it on the line: Yugoslavia, under his leadership, is endeavoring and will continue to endeavor, to bring about the triumph of world socialism—the same goal, he said, toward which the Soviet Union is working. In virtually every particular, including the suppression of the Hungarian revolt, Tito defended the Soviet Union. To be sure, here and there the two nations proceed differently, as Red China proceeds differently; but the objective, for all of them, is the same.

He doesn't really mean what he said, Mrs. Luce said trippingly. He is just bluffing. He knows perfectly well that within his own nation things are going in the direction of capitalism, and that in all likeli-

hood his grandchildren will live in a capitalist society. The same movements are at work in Red China.

Mrs. Luce was asked by Mr. W. H. Lawrence of the *New York Times* why, if she considered these tendencies to operate in Red China as well as in Yugoslavia, she did not advocate U.S. aid to Red China. That was a tough one, but Mrs. Luce bounced back gaily and said the reason was that China is many times as large as Yugoslavia, and it would cost the U.S. more than we could afford to help China as much as, relatively, as we are helping Yugoslavia. Mrs. Luce had painted herself into a corner, making it impossible, on grounds other than America's incapacity to do so, to oppose aiding Red China.

We should not, of course, be inviting Tito into our homes; our traffic with him should be a very different kind than the cosy interview (Edward R. Murrow did not even ask Tito about the imprisonment of Milovan Djilas for having said that the Hungarian revolt signaled the end of Communism). But assuming we *are* to interview the enemy, we should have the good sense to follow the interview up with analysts a little more tough-minded and better informed than Mrs. Luce showed herself on this occasion, and on this subject, to be. (At her best, she is superb.) It is a pity that CBS rejected the shrewd suggestion of Senator John Butler that Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, author of the definitive *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse,* published this spring, be invited to comment.

Atomic Exploder

Last week one of the nation's stormiest and most paradoxical public figures changed his job but not his occupation. Mr. Thomas E. Murray, whom the President did not reappoint to the Atomic Energy Commission, was named a special consultant to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. He will thus be in a position to continue, or even step up, his fight for a set of policies, held with passionate personal conviction, that make him the scourge alike of Liberals and Conservatives.

Mr. Murray is able, exhaustively energetic, rich, a devout Christian, and a patriot. He has always been an unyielding anti-Communist, and in his general views even something of an anti-Liberal. The Liberals denounced him bitterly in 1954 because he—alone among the five AEC Commissioners—found on the evidence that J. Robert Oppenheimer was not merely a security risk, but had been *disloyal.* But the Conservatives were then and thereafter dismayed because of Mr. Murray's continuous personal feud against the Commission Chairman, Admiral Lewis Strauss, who has been so stalwart a defender of our national security and interest.

A year ago, well before Mr. Adlai Stevenson's campaign slogans on the subject, Commissioner Murray suddenly declared—in a most public statement—for a suspension of megaton-range H-bomb tests—by the United States unilaterally, if agreement could not be secured. The quick Liberal applause died down when he followed this up with demands for much more frequent testing of small scale (tactical) nuclear weapons and for diversion of fissionable material to their mass manufacture. But he called also for a vast governmental program to develop nuclear power units for use domestically and in the underdeveloped nations—a proposal that he perplexingly insists has nothing to do with socialization which, he says, he rejects in principle.

All through his Commission term Mr. Murray has condemned the secrecy regulations as excessive, useless, and injurious to nuclear development.

It is almost impossible to make a single-valued judgment on Mr. Murray's kaleidoscopic views. He is one of those rare gadflies who can keep the public intelligence from lethargy and its conscience from indifference.

Security Nonsense

In his recent statement about the "dark chapters of betrayal'" written by American newspapermen who have disclosed "vital secrets," Lloyd Wright, Chairman of the Commission on Government Security, raises more questions than he settles.

He is right, of course, in his insistence that there is a problem of security: the Liberals who poohpooh the presence of spies, traitors and malefactors within the government will have a hard time disposing of some of Mr. Wright's instances. But to blame the newspapermen for disclosing what is "leaked" to them is to stand the pyramid on its apex.

To put the whole problem in perspective, one must go back to the origins of the institution of the "leak." In the early days of the New Deal, administrative officers of the government found the "leak" a profitable instrument of policy. If you wanted a newspaperman on your side, you simply favored him with a "secret" now and then. Naturally the newsman would assume that the information was divulged with a purpose that had the sanction of government: otherwise, why would officers of high rank, even of Cabinet status, be involved in such a thing?

To chastise the press for publishing material which has usually been given out with full knowledge that it will be used seems to us to miss the reality of the situation. To begin with, the press is ordinarily in no position to act as judge of what is vitally secret and what is not. It must print what it can get or run

the risk of being hornswoggled by its own scruples.

Mr. Wright is correct when he points to a lack of "security" in government. But the only effiective way for a government to keep "top secrets" from reaching the press, is to hire patriots who do not leak them in the first place, and to be prepared, the Supreme Court willing, to fire those of its employees who, like John Stewart Service, pass along secrets to pro-Communists.

As We Live and Breathe!

Of all the rhetoric that streamed forth recently from the campuses of our colleges and universities only a single address—by an undergraduate!—caught our wandering mind. The words are those of Patrick F. Harte, B.A., twenty-one, of Newark, New Jersey, valedictorian of his class at Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama:

"During our short lives this great Republic has been following a policy of dynamic confusion.

"On four occasions three Presidents traveled to the other side of the world to clink vodka glasses with the most incredible gang of criminals this world has ever known.

"A Secretary of State refused to turn his back on a traitor, yet he had nothing good to say about a dead senator, whom he hated not for his faults but for his virtues.

"An American general insisted that the Chinese Communists were mere agrarian reformers.

"In Korea, 25,000 American lives were sacrificed in a war we were determined not to win.

"Blood flowed in the streets of Budapest and we but raised an ineffectual protest in the halls of the United Nations.

"I have chosen to expose these skeletons from our national closet to point up the intellectual endowment we have here received.

"Those three Presidents who banqueted with bandits in the hope of securing world peace: how could they succumb to such confused thinking as *not* to realize with the Apostle that, 'It is inconsistent to sit at the table of God and that of His enemy . . . to drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of the devil'? . . .

"If America were guided by helmsmen formed and matured in the training we have received here at the Hill, the world would indeed be a better place. Unfortunately, most of our leaders were educated by men who followed the errors of German Idealists. They were taught that the mind creates its own truth, that man thinks differently a different times—what is true today is false tomorrow. Witness our vacillating foreign policy. Subjected to the acid-test of the moral law, it is often found to be counterfeit, devoid of principle. . . .

"If we remain intellectually honest and morally loyal we will transfigure for the better the men and institutions we serve. . . ."

Lèse Majesté?

The Supreme Court of Georgia is composed of honorable and deferential men. These men do not like the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which compels a railway worker to join a union even in states where compulsory unionism is illegal. But, being men of law, they accede to the federal ruling.

In a recent decision in *Looper v. Georgia Southern Railway Co.*, however, the Supreme Court of Georgia raises a pertinent question: does federal law require that a railroad worker join a union if that union is engaged in political and other activities not related to collective bargaining? Since the Supreme Court of the United States has not yet seen fit to argue that a man can be compelled to accept membership in a body which enforces "ideological conformity" in contravention of the First or the Fifth Amendment, the Supreme Court of Georgia has, in effect, told a number of local railway workers that they need only to prove the political use of union funds to sustain their right to non-unionized employment.

This poses a nice question for Chief Justice Warren's Court in Washington. We await the fireworks that must inevitably result when Justices Black, Douglas, *et al.* are faced with the words of the Georgia Court: "We do not believe one can constitutionally be compelled to contribute money to support ideas, politics and candidates which he opposes. We believe his right to immunity from such exactions is superior to any claim the union can make upon him."

Our contributors: DR. HARLEY L. LUTZ ("Security to Burn"), Professor Emeritus of Public Finance at Princeton University, is Tax Consultant to the National Association of Manufacturers . . . WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN ("America's Wasting Asset: Character") former correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in the USSR and Japan, is now with the *Wall Street Journal*. He is the author of *America's Second Crusade* and other books. . . . Readers who enjoyed the series "Parkinson Looks at Retirement" (June 15 and 22) will be interested in knowing that they will form part of a book, *Parkinson's Law*, to be published September 18 by Houghton-Mifflin.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

A Tale of Two Thieves

Jimmy Hoffa, a vice-president of the Teamsters union, is in trouble up to his ears for trying to filch secret documents from a Senate investigating committee. Should the jury decide against him in his current trial for bribery, he faces a jail sentence and a stiff fine.

Hoffa, the indictment charges, sought to plant an investigator on the staff of the Senate's Select Committee on labor racketeering for the purpose of eliciting advance information concerning the committee's investigation of the Teamsters. The plant is alleged to have got hold of a number of documents evincing Teamster President Dave Beck's purchase of personal goods through Nathan Shefferman with $80,000 in union funds, to have passed them on to Hoffa, and to have received $2,000 in cash. The documents were the kind of thing Hoffa wanted in order to plot his and the union's future strategy: "If that's what they have on Beck," he is said to have told the plant after perusing the documents, "his goose is cooked . . . Shefferman is stupid to keep his records like that."

Unbeknownst to Hoffa, however, his spy was working the other side of the street. John C. Cheasty, a free-lance investigator who had just lost a job with a Florida investigating committee, had been put in touch with Hoffa under circumstances that are still far from clear, and had agreed to seek a job on the Senate committee in order to carry out Hoffa's scheme. But Cheasty double-crossed Hoffa and spilled the beans to committee counsel Robert Kennedy. Kennedy called in Chairman McClellan, who, in turn, called in the FBI. It was decided that Cheasty should get the committee job; that he should be given access to documents that would be sure to interest Hoffa; that the FBI would move in when the documents and money were passed, and thus catch Hoffa *in flagrante*. Hoffa fell into the trap. So that, as things worked out, his goose was cooked even before Dave Beck's.

The elements of Hoffa's offense, then, are a) unauthorized procurement of Senate committee documents, b) the use of an "insider"—*i.e.*, a spy to accomplish this end, and c) payment of money to the spy.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. is several cuts above Jimmy Hoffa in the community's esteem. He is the co-founder of the ADA, a respectable Washington lawyer who just never says die in the good fight for civil liberties, decency, morality, etc. He and his Liberal friends, Clayton Fritchey of the Democratic National Committee and Alfred Friendly of the *Washington Post*, are definitely not hooligan-types.

Still, there is a court record, consisting mainly of the testimony of Rauh and his friends, that places Jimmy Hoffa in very good company.

In January 1954, Rauh testified in the case of *U.S. v. Hughes* he was approached by one Paul Hughes who represented himself as a confidential investigator on the staff of the McCarthy Subcommittee on Investigations. Hughes told him, Rauh said, that he was in a position to furnish documentary evidence of the "illegal activities" of Senator McCarthy and his committee. Shortly thereafter, Hughes produced a 94-page "black book" of miscellaneous data relating to the committee's and McCarthy's personal affairs, very little of which even purported to demonstrate "illegal activities," but all of which substantiated the Liberal picture of McCarthy as a dark and dangerous scoundrel. What is more, there was valuable information concerning the confidential activities of the McCarthy Committee—e.g., the names of McCarthy informants, including his informant in the White House; references to other informants whose identity Hughes had not yet learned (such as the one who kept phoning in from the *Louisville Courier Journal*, and another who Hughes thought was the cooking editor of the *New York Post*); intra-committee memoranda; a number of investigators' reports that were, apparently, to be used in forthcoming investigations; a secret correspondence between Eisenhower and McCarthy; transcripts of executive session testimony that invariably revealed browbeating of witnesses by Cohn and McCarthy.

Rauh licked his chops, told Hughes to keep up the good work. He also made the first of several payments to his spy that were, before the year was out, to total $8,500.

All of his "information," Hughes later confessed, was fraudulent. Rauh claimed he had been hornswoggled—as did both Fritchey, who earlier paid out $2,300 for the same stuff, and Friendly, who arranged for an additional $2,000 after the *Washington Post* had become interested in publishing the story. Hughes, however, said that he believed Rauh was aware of the hoax all along. For that statement, among others, he was indicted for perjury; at the trial, eleven of twelve jurors acquitted Hughes of lying on that count.

Let's assume, however, the fact most favorable to Rauh: that the one juror was right in thinking Rauh had been victimized by Hughes. That leaves Rauh, on the basis of what he says he *thought* was true, guilty of a) unauthorized procurement of Senate committee documents, b) the use of an "insider"— *i.e.*, a spy on the committee—to accomplish this, and c) payment of money to the spy. Q.E.D.

What saved Rauh from Hoffa's fate is that he did not actually commit the crime he intended to commit. Hughes was not actually employed by the McCarthy Committee, so that Rauh—in the eyes of the criminal law —was left in the happy status of the man who intends to, and is caught, stealing money, only to have it proved later on that the stolen money was his own. Of course, Rauh might have been indicted for *conspiring* to bribe, or, in the alternative (if Hughes is to be believed), of conspiring to libel.

While Jimmy Hoffa stands trial, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. is still at large, fighting the good fight for Liberal causes. His latest accomplishment: As defense counsel in the Watkins case, persuading the Supreme Court to emasculate congressional investigating committees.

Security to Burn

Imagine, says Dr. Lutz, the destruction of all the government notes which constitute the so-called trust funds of our social security programs. The result would be a net gain . . .

HARLEY L. LUTZ

The following news stories are hypothetical. If the events described had actually happened, the fallacious thinking about a substantial segment of the public debt would have been exposed.

Washington—some fine morning—all wire services—A fire of mysterious origin occurred last night in one of the vaults in the Treasury Building. The contents of this vault consisted of the government notes that had been accumulated in the various trust funds under the several pension, benefit, and insurance programs. The total was about $45 billion. These notes were entirely destroyed, but no other damage was done.

Washington—that same afternoon—all wire services—The first reaction among government officials to the news of the mysterious fire in a Treasury vault last night was that the destruction of so much federal debt paper meant a serious loss. The government notes and bonds in this particular vault had been accumulated because of the policy of collecting more in taxes, premiums, or retirement contributions than was needed to pay the current outgo for pensions, benefits, and veterans' life insurance. The excess of such cash collections over the outgo had been spent for general purposes and the debt obligations had been stored up to represent this cash.

The sense of loss was shared by the public as the news became known, and federal offices throughout the country were swamped with visitors and telephone calls. To quiet things down, the Secretary of the Treasury arranged for a combination radio and television appearance. He told the people to keep calm; that every one who was entitled to receive a pension or other benefit payment from the government would get it on time as usual. He said that the clerical routine of verifying claims and preparing checks for mailing was proceeding normally, and that the money to cover these checks was flowing in under the various programs. These programs include OASI, where the benefits are paid from taxes on workers and employers in the industries covered; unemployment compensation, the money for which is provided by the payroll-tax on employers; the railroad retirement system, for which the money is supplied by workers and employers; veterans' insurance, which is supported by premiums; and the civil service retirement system, financed by contributions from qualified employees and the federal government.

Washington — a month later — all wire services—There appears to be general acceptance, both among government officials and the large number of trust-fund beneficiaries, that the destruction of government debt paper in a Treasury vault by the mysterious fire that occurred a month ago, has not affected in any way the payments to beneficiaries of the different programs. It is being increasingly realized also that the loss of this "reserve" has had no effect on the rights of qualified persons to receive the specified payments. There is growing recognition of the fact that rights to these payments are determined by substantive legislation of the Congress and are in no way dependent on the existence of a reserve of any amount in the form of the government's own debt obligations.

Washington—two months later—all wire services—The question, what to do about the excess of cash flowing in over the amount being currently disbursed in payment of benefits and other claims, has precipitated active discussion among government officials and congressional committees. A sharp division exists. One group holds that this surplus should be represented by new government debt paper as it accumulates, and that a start should be made toward building up another reserve. Extremists of this group believe that the government should print enough debt paper to replace that which was destroyed in the fire which occurred three months ago.

The other group asserts that the mysterious fire was really a blessing in disguise because it demonstrated that a reserve is not necessary to assure the payment of benefits, or essential to the maintenance of the rights of beneficiaries. The position of this second group is that the problem of excess collections can be solved by reducing and adjusting the rates of payment to the level required by the current cash outgo; in which case, under each program, only enough would be collected to cover the current costs of that program. Those who hold this view contend that their policy would put all of the benefit, insurance, and pension plans on a pay-as-you-go basis and this, they insist, is the only proper way to operate.

Washington—two weeks later—all wire services—The controversy over the future financing of the several benefit, insurance, and pension systems has extended into the editorial pages. There follows a summary of editorial comment which has been compiled by the staff of one of the leading business and financial publications.

"The editors and commentators

who discuss government finance have been analyzing the arguments concerning the future financing of the government's benefit and pension programs. By and large they agree on these points:

"1. The whole population can be supported only out of current production, with a modest supplement from the unconsumed portion of past production. There is universal agreement that this support cannot come, at any time, out of future production.

"2. There is full agreement that the workers support the nonworkers, including everybody who does not work, from the babies to the great grandparents, and the sick or disabled of all ages.

"3. There is full agreement that under the system of organized public support of nonworkers which is now so extensively in effect, the cost of this support must be a charge on the current income of the workers, just as it is a charge on current production.

"4. Given the above premises, the consensus is that workers and employers should be required to pay no more each year than would be required to cover the cost of the program benefits in that year.

"As one editor put it, The illusion of the federal trust funds has now been clearly demonstrated. For years the people have been compelled to pay into the federal Treasury amounts greatly in excess of the actual current cost of OASI, unemployment compensation, veterans' pensions, railroad retirement, and civil service pensions. Many of them have done so willingly in the belief that they were storing up a reserve that would assure the benefit payments which they expected to receive in the future. Now that the reserve is gone, they are realizing that these benefits are in no way dependent on it or conditioned by its existence. They are beginning to see that they, as workers, are paying the benefits of those who are now retired, and that their benefits, when they become eligible, will be provided from the money paid in by the workers who come after them.

"This experience and the discussion which it has evoked, have been a salutary lesson in elementary economics, and, it is to be hoped, in public debt management. A cynical argument in support of the existing policy has been that the government would have had to borrow the same amount anyway, and it was simpler and easier to borrow the surplus cash from the trust funds than to increase borrowings from the market. But the people who have supplied the forty-odd billions of excess taxes and other contributions for trust fund purposes thought they were laying up treasure for the future. In fact they were supplying the government with easy money. And the fact that this forty-odd billions was so easy to get may have contributed to the excessive spending for war purposes which resulted in the vast accumulation of military surplus goods still on hand."

Washington—two months later—all wire services—A solution appears to be shaping up for settlement of the future financing of the government's various benefit, pension, and insurance programs. Its main points, as explained by a high government official, are:

1. Consider the destroyed debt paper to be canceled and reduce the statutory debt limit by a corresponding amount. The new limit would then be $230 billion and the saving in annual interest charges would be approximately $1,215 million.

2. Revise the rates of tax, premium, and contribution to a straight pay-as-you-go basis, with provision for periodic adjustments of the several rates adequate to maintain all of the programs on a current cash-payment basis.

3. Maintain the existing methods of program support, and affirm the strict intention to avoid, in future, levels of benefit payment so high as to require supplemental drafts on general revenue to carry them.

Some of the pertinent questions and answers follow:

"Q. Sir, was thought given to the need or feasibility of a complete funding of the total liability that the government has assumed up to the present for OASI?

"A. Yes, this matter was considered. It was clear this could be done only by printing government bonds to cover this liability, which is now estimated to be in excess of $200 billion. Even the "die-hards" admit that the storage of government bonds in a Treasury vault would be an empty gesture so far as concerns assurance of the government's intention toward beneficiaries or evidence of the economy's capacity to support them. Realization of the futility of complete funding has pulled the rug from under the demand for even the partial funding involved in replacement of the destroyed notes and bonds.

"Q. Sir, was thought given to the possibility that failure to replace the lost debt paper might raise the question of broken faith toward those who had paid in the excess cash represented by the bonds and notes in the trust accounts?

"A. Yes, this matter was discussed at length, and the conclusion was that no wrong would be done to any beneficiary by treating the destroyed debt paper as cancelled, for these reasons:

"First, these beneficiaries, as individuals or as a group, had no title to the government debt paper. In paying more than was necessary to provide the current program benefits, they were not buying government bonds. Second, experience since the paper was destroyed has demonstrated that payments to be received are in no way conditioned by or dependent upon the holding of government debt in a trust account. The essential rights of beneficiaries were not created by the trust fund and are not impaired by its disappearance. Third, debt paper so held is not even a reserve in any real sense. If cash outgo at any time should exceed current income, more funds could be obtained only by selling government bonds in the market. Whether or not there were bonds or notes in the trust funds, a form of debt-offering attractive to the market at that time would have to be devised, and this could be done as well if there were no trust fund as if there were one.

"Q. Did you consider the future effect of the trend toward a steadily rising rate of tax for the OASI program?

(*Continued on p. 63*)

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The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

The Disarmament Industry

The past century has been studded with proposals for partial or total disarmament. These are a derivative, in one root, of spreading pacifist sentiment. The idea of doing away with lethal weapons is, one might say, the lazy mind's road to peace. It has become all the more attractive as our generation has increased the destructive power of weapons beyond any readily assignable limit.

Although the cause of disarmament, as of pacifism more generally, has been espoused by many persons from impeccable motives, some others have shown themselves astute at mixing the expedient with the ideal in these disarmament crusades. Disarmament has created a new and not unprofitable market for writers, lecturers and organizers to exploit. For statesmen and generals, disarmament has provided a whole new tactical system.

The meaning and possibilities of general disarmament are vague, but it is clearly a good thing for me if I can get my presumptive opponent to disarm even a little. If he has some novel weapon dangerous to me, that I cannot or cannot yet rival, it will be especially advantageous for me to persuade him to throw it away. I can always be generous in offering a mutual renunciation of military modes in which I must inevitably be inferior.

Moreover, by a skillfully planned disarmament tactic I can hope to throw the moral onus of war-mongering on my opponent's back, so that when war does come he will appear, to his own people as well as mine, the aggressor and therefore evil.

When nearly a century ago, with the only steel industry then adequate to the purpose, Great Britain began to build steel-clad "dreadnoughts" for her navy, active disarmament movements seeking to outlaw these monstrous new devices arose on the Continent, particularly in Germany and France. This was no more surprising than the anti-submarine disarmament program that developed out of Britain roughly parallel to the development, in Germany, of a submarine fleet threatening British lines of communication.

The General Staffs of naval powers are always enthusiastic about the reduction of land forces. The leaders of land powers naturally welcome any naval disarmament. Nations that are too small or too backward to support large and modern armed forces often favor "general disarmament," and in this longing are likely to be seconded by very big nations that are both rich and soft.

The Postwar Routine

The postwar disarmament operations have gone along lines familiar from past history. The only new factor involves a difference more of degree than of kind. The Communist use of the disarmament tactic is the most ruthless and sustained on record. They have indeed turned Peace into a major weapon of their War. However, they have only been adding a new intensity to old tricks.

In this competition our Western leaders are not quite the naive victims of Communist wiles that they sometimes seem—and perhaps wish to seem. President Eisenhower is doubtless sincere enough in his disarmament wishes to be easily self-deceived, but what he does is conditioned by his objective position as head of the world's most powerful state as well as by his personal feelings. He has Admiral Radford and General Twining as well as Harold Stassen looking over his shoulder.

When the Soviet Union had no nuclear weapons, it was reasonable for it to circulate (outside its own borders) the Stockholm Pledge against the use of nuclear weapons. When it was plain, a few years ago, that Soviet intelligence knew much more about our military installations than our intelligence knew about their military installations, the Eisenhower "Open Skies" proposal was good common sense from an American standpoint. It is only normal that many nations that neither have nor are likely to acquire nuclear weapons should be active in calling for nuclear disarmament. Nor, when the United States is already in the process of reducing its troop level from 2,800,000 to 2,500,000, should we be startled when, a couple of weeks ago, our spokesmen suggested 2,500,000 as the upper troop limit for any nation.

The proposals for suspension of fusion (H-bomb) tests did not make much official headway until this year. It can hardly be a coincidence that these are beginning to be taken seriously by both sides only now when both have learned how to fire the megaton H-bombs, and are shifting their experimental concentration to new methods of delivery (missiles) and means of nuclear defense. Nuclear weapons are now big enough in bang, or even too big, for all military purposes. The next breakthrough that might sharply shift the present armament balance is to be expected in the defensive capability against nuclear attack, or in a new medium.

The disarmament talks are a battle campaign, not a truce. Because the historical issues are unresolved there will be no significant disarming, though nominal disarmament agreements may be signed to disguise changes in the nature, composition, pace and methods of arming. That the current negotiations are more a form of political warfare than of conference is shown by the fact that they are primarily conducted not by sober discussion in London but by propaganda blasts from Moscow and Washington. The major objective of each side is not to do away with decisive arms but to put public blame on the other for the continuance of the armament burden and the war threat. The Soviets must go on arming because of the threat of capitalist nuclear encirclement; the West must arm because of the threat of Communist world conquest.

Humanity will escape from this circle not when the two sides agree, which is excluded, but when one of them loses.

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

American-Continental Dialogue

American-British relations and American-Continental relations have always suffered from psychological difficulties which were of two different orders. While Washington and London often differ in their views, each usually understands what the other is after. Mutual dislike has frequently been strong, partly because the similarity of basic views insinuated an identity of views in cases where it did not exist; and its absence was taken as a sign of ill will. American-Continental relations, on the other hand, have usually been less colored by personal animosities, and have even had the advantage of mutual human sympathies. The *temperamental* affinities between Americans and Continentals are greater than those between Continentals and Britishers. In a sense, the Channel is more of a dividing line than the Atlantic.

And yet, while countless American soldiers prefer to be stationed in Germany (or even Italy) rather than in Britain, the American sees in the Englishman a "regular guy" and, vice-versa, the Britisher sees in the American an "ordinary, decent chap"; whereas both see the Continental (excluding the Dutch and the Scandinavians) as what Lloyd George called "a queer devil." The farther south and east the Continental comes from, the more he is considered to be untrustworthy, odd and incalculable. In this respect, the American and the British *vox populi* agree almost a hundred per cent.

The reasons for American-Continental misunderstandings, especially in political matters, are basically cultural—differences in language, religion, historic experience. Yet they are also of an ideological nature: they are intrinsically connected with tendencies in both worlds which are loosely called "right" and "left" or, more appropriately, "liberal-conservative" and "collectivistic."

It so happens, in both English-speaking nations, that the conservative element has a more marked dislike for the outside world than the Leftists. There are, of course, exceptions. Thus the highly conservative London *Tablet,* a Catholic weekly equaled only by the *Economist* as a source of foreign policy information, is frankly "internationalist" in outlook. (No wonder, since the Catholics of Britain have always looked *ultra montes.*) Then there has always been a conservative, Eastern Seaboard aristocratic type in the U. S. with strong ties to the Continent. (Inevitably Henry Adams comes to mind.) Yet the rank and file of American conservatives who have only recently begun to see their ideas brought into tangible shape, have traditionally been strongly hostile to foreign entanglements and suspicious of the new immigrant who so frequently arrived as the carrier of "radical" ideas and who usually voted the Democratic ticket. This went hand in hand with a certain anti-intellectualism, equating alienness with intellectualism, and seeing in both a menace to the welfare of the Republic.

On the Continent, the situation is different. Here a strong national feeling has combined with Leftist revolutionary fervor. Royalty and the Catholic Church were supra-national in their outlook; and the intellectualism of the Left was opposed vigorously by an intellectualism of the Right. As a matter of fact, the rationalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Father Bochenski pointed out recently, is a grandchild of Thomism. In France alone a synthesis of nationalism and conservatism was attempted by Charles Maurras; but it ran afoul of the Church and never recovered its old vigor after its condemnation.

Yet, while the bulk of American and British conservatives refused to look with benevolence across the Atlantic or the Channel, the field of foreign relations was slyly monopolized by the Left. Thus a stereotyped picture of the Continent finally emerged in the English-speaking nations: a Promised Land of Marx and Engels, of Freud and the French Revolution, of the Commune and of Lenin, of surrealist painting and socialized medicine, of crazy architecture and of "proletarians" fighting on barricades. The Leftist control of the media of information, of the flow of literature to the United States (and, less so, to Britain); the "debunking" of the older European tradition, combined with the extolling of everything that is revolutionary and new in the Old World; all this has cleverly helped to increase the conservative Anglo-Saxon contempt for the Continent. There seemed to be nothing left here between degenerate aristocrats, dreaming of the good old days of Saint Louis and the Holy Inquisition, and unshaved poets reciting revolutionary manifestoes in dingy cafés. On top of all this came the introduction of Nazism as a movement of the "right"—one of the most successful hoaxes in history. The vicious circle was closed.

No wonder that in Europe, after the two World Wars (both waged as crusades by America's Left-of-Center), the American Left moved in. To see the regime of America's Left, one had to visit the Continent in the years after 1945. Needless to say that during that period a dialogue between those representing the lasting European traditions and the "American Establishment" was out of question.

Now we think the time more propitious than ever for bringing together the men who truly represent the United States and the Continental nations. There still are colossal psychological difficulties in the path of a *rapprochement* but they have ceased to be insuperable. On the contrary, there are certain developments which make such an event more feasible: the moral and material victory of the free economy in Europe; the emergence of an intellectual conservatism in America (which means *thought,* not just noble sentiment); the re-emergence of Christianity as a driving force on both sides of the Atlantic; the moral bankruptcy of radical Leftism in both its brown and red patterns; the immensely developed travel and trade which serve as an incentive to mutual knowledge.

America's Wasting Asset: Character

A nation's greatness, says the author, is not to be judged by its wealth but by the character of its people. Measured by that standard, America is rapidly deteriorating

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Conservationists sometimes sound warnings about the threatened exhaustion of this or that American natural resource. But there is much evidence to show that the most serious erosion is in a nonmaterial asset, individual character.

Whether Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi, did present her children when she was asked to show her jewels, or whether this is a flight of Plutarch's imagination, the story points up an eternal truth. The decisive test of the quality of any society is the worth of the men and women who make it up.

This element of individual character is decisive in the rise, decline and fall of states. Good citizens can make a bad constitution work more or less effectively. But the best of paper constitutions will never compensate for lack of patriotism, intelligence, industry and self-restraint on the part of the people who live under its provisions.

Material wealth may be very deceptive. It is easy to recall instances when empires which on the surface seemed mighty and imposing proved far gone in decay when put to the test of unexpected crisis. On any count of wealth and physical resources the Roman Empire was superior to the Germanic tribes; the Byzantine Empire was equally superior to the wild fanatics who emerged from the deserts of Arabia under the banner of Mohammed. Both empires were defeated not by lack of resources but by lack of men.

And, amid all the cascading figures of record output, record wages, record consumption, there is one American record that should be a cause of national shame and determination to do something about it. According to J. Edgar Hoover, over 2.5 million *major* crimes were committed in the United States in 1956, a figure never before equalled. This means that on average one person in seventy in the United States was the victim of some such offense as murder, rape, robbery or aggravated assault. It is doubtful whether this fantastic crime record is even approached in any other civilized country.

Recently a professor at Columbia University was rightly humiliated when he had to confess to the visiting Mayor of West Berlin that it is unsafe to walk at night in Central Park or in the lower part of Riverside Drive. The Mayor was astonished and incredulous. No such situation exists in Berlin, in spite of the social dislocation that is a natural result of terrific war bombing.

Junior Criminals

A shocking feature of the United States crime situation is the large and growing element of what is euphemistically called juvenile delinqency. New York's junior criminals seem to have surpassed their elders, if one may judge from the recent testimony of Police Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy:

> Among children under 16 rape was up 43 per cent, sodomy 109.9 per cent, arson 182.1 per cent, assault 40.4 per cent, grand larceny of automobiles 36 per cent, robbery 18.6 per cent, burglary 15.5 per cent, unlawful assembly 54.6 per cent.

If New York is far from safe for its residents now, what will it be when these precocious freshmen and sophomores in the school of crime come of age?

The standard Liberal clichés about the causes of crime break down pitifully in the light of current United States conditions. Crime is supposed to be a result of poverty, need and unemployment. But wages, real as well as paper, were never higher and jobs are plentiful.

Crime is ascribed to bad housing conditions. But there has never been so much publicly subsidized housing, and some of the worst nests of juvenile delinquency are in new housing developments. This might suggest to an open and inquiring mind that it is not slums that make people, but rather people who make slums.

The young criminal has never been the object of so much solicitous clucking, coddling and sympathetic investigation by social workers, psychiatrists and assorted do-gooders. But in spite of, or perhaps because of, the fact that it is fashionable to regard him not as vicious and depraved but as emotionally disturbed, "mixed up," etc., his crime rate soars into the stratosphere.

Poverty Not the Cause

The whole comforting environmentalist theory that crime is a result not of bad people but of bad conditions has been disproved. For poverty, as that term is understood in most countries of Asia and in many countries of Europe, as it existed in the United States in some sections fifty years ago, has virtually disappeared in this country. But—there were over 2.5 million major crimes in 1956 and the curve is pointed upward.

The booming crime rate is only the ugliest and most spectacular indication that an America riding a high tide of material prosperity is experiencing a serious slump in moral values. It is always a danger signal of decadence when the state withholds from the individual most of the fruits of success and creates a soft cushion for the consequences of individual failure. One finds little ap-

preciation in present-day America of the sturdy, self-reliant implications of Grover Cleveland's statement that, while the people should support the government, the government should not support the people.

The attitude toward individual responsibility was much clearer and stronger in the nineteenth century. Two eminent figures of that time, General Grant and Sir Walter Scott, through imprudence, not bad faith, found themselves morally involved in heavy financial liabilities. Each probably hastened his end by working day and night to pay off the last dollar and pound of his obligation. Are these examples that would inspire much imitation today, when some alphabetical government agency would be expected to bail the individual out of the consequences of his own mistakes?

During the Presidency of Herbert Hoover his son was offered a position at a salary out of line with his experience and qualifications at that time. The younger Hoover turned down the offer with the curt comment:

"My father's name is not for sale."

In the striking contrast between this attitude and the behavior of some of the sons of Mr. Hoover's successor one can see the contrast between a morally responsible and a morally irresponsible age.

Marx and Freud

If the sense of moral responsibility has become blurred in the United States and in the Western world, responsibility lies largely at the door of two influential thinkers, Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. For both these men, in different ways, have done much to undermine and destroy the conception of man as a moral, sentient being, capable of and responsible for making the choices between good and evil.

Let me add a word of explanation. I am not suggesting anything so crudely oversimplified and downright absurd as a diligent student of *Das Kapital* or the works of Freud being directly inspired to set out on a career of crime. What has happened, I think, is that a society profoundly, if sometimes unconsciously, influenced by Marx and Freud has experienced atrophy of the moral-judgment faculty. For the influence of both Marx and Freud is deeply amoral.

Man in the Marxian scheme is a complete moral robot. He is the plaything of a system of economic predestination that has decreed that one part of the human race, the so-called proletariat, is to overthrow, expropriate and, in the suggestive Soviet Communist phrase, "liquidate" the other part, the so-called bourgeoisie.

When this revolution is consummated the millenium will be at hand. There will be no need for further human progress. All tensions and conflicts, all personal frustrations and disappointments, will disappear as at the waving of a magic wand. Of course this is all sheer mythology, and mythology full of internal contradictions. For instance Marx's dogmatic prediction that under capitalism the rich will become richer and fewer and the poor more numerous and poorer is disproved by the whole course of economic development in the United States and Western Europe. What has happened is precisely the reverse of this prophecy.

False Prophet

Another Marxist dogma is that "no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed." But Russian capitalism had not even begun to realize its possibilities when the Communists seized power, and Chinese capitalism was in a still earlier stage of development. Marx's close collaborator Engels believed that Western capitalism had exhausted its creative possibilities before the end of the nineteenth century; a truly ludicrous view in the light of what has been accomplished in production and invention by the middle of the twentieth century.

A pertinent question to which Marx nowhere supplies the answer is how the proletariat, which is supposed to be more and more impoverished and degraded by capitalist exploitation, is to acquire the moral and mental qualities which would enable it to take over successfully the tasks of government and industrial management.

Of all the utopias that have occupied men's minds, Marx's is surely the barest and dullest. One can search the tomes of the prophet of socialism without finding any attempt to envisage the living traits of the society which might be expected to emerge after the downfall of capitalism, or to imagine the problems which would confront such a society. Yet Marxism, with its pseudo-scientific pretensions and its appeal to class hatred and envy, became one of the important shaping forces of Western thought. And man in the Marxian formula is stripped of human dignity and individuality. His fate depends on the predestined issue of the process of class struggle.

The Proletcult

There is no place in Marx's philosophy for a conscience or an immortal soul. There is no room there for the agonized struggle of the individual to achieve goodness and shun evil. Marx dismissed religion as "opium for the people." He sneeringly remarked that the Church of England would rather give up the Thirty-nine Articles of its creed, rather than one thirty-ninth of its property, although the historical record in England as elsewhere shows that martyrs for conscience sake far outnumber those who have perished in defense of property.

For Marx there are no moral absolutes. His materialistic philosophy rejects any such conception. In his teaching there is only one obligation: to promote the Socialist or Communist (Marx used the terms interchangeably) revolution by any means of force or fraud that may be most effective. Marx is one of the most eminent and consistent champions of the sophism that the end justifies the means.

It is this element in Marxism, faithfully taken over by Lenin and the Russian Communists, that helps to explain what might seem to be the paradox of men who would not take a single life for reasons of robbery or revenge immolating thousands, even millions, of victims on the altar of that impersonal god, the proletariat. Among the false prophets of the nineteenth century who prepared the way for the holocausts of the twentieth, Karl Marx contributed much to destroying the sense of the individual for the difference between right and wrong.

Another influential thinker whose

teachings pointed in the same direction is the theorist of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. If Marxian man is a robot in the clutch of economic forces, the character of Freudian man is irresistibly shaped by instincts and urges which are beyond the control of reason and conscience. According to Freud, the mental apparatus is composed of the *id*, the reservoir of the instinctive impulses, the *ego*, the most superficial portion of the *id* and most affected by the influence of the outside world and the *super-ego*, which develops out of the *id*, dominates the *ego* and represents the inhibitions of instinct characteristic of man. Freud's teaching lays much stress on the supposed influence of subconscious infantile sexuality, which is, of course, uncontrollable. To quote from an Encyclopedia Brittanica article on psychoanalysis, signed with the suggestive initials S. FR.:

> All experiences during the first period of childhood are of the greatest importance to the individual, and in combination with his inherited sexual constitution form the subsequent development of character or disease.

Moral Judgment Weakens

So character, which has no place in Marx's materialist scheme, is reduced by Freud to a by-product of infantile sexuality. No wonder the very idea of character is at such a discount in the United States. For, although the number of persons who could honestly claim familiarity with the writings of Marx and Freud is limited, popular and simplified versions of their thought have considerably influenced the modern mental climate.

There is now a shamefaced, apologetic attitude toward the use of such words as virtue and vice, good and evil. Indeed, what meaning does attach to such words, if human character is the product of economic determinism, or of the capricious functioning of the *id* and the *libido*? On these assumptions the capacity for moral judgment and righteous indignation withers away.

Surely this influence is reflected in many trends of our times, in the fantastic double standard of morals regarding the Soviet Union so characteristic of American Liberals and radicals during the thirties and during the war years, in the lukewarm apathy toward the heroic ordeal of martyred Hungary, in the ignominious failure of American society to protect itself against the onslaught of criminals, juvenile and adult, who have turned whole sections of great cities into unsafe jungles.

Today's Challenge

Character is not something that can be counted like a bank balance or weighed like a consignment of steel or wheat. But it is the most important asset a nation can possess, especially a nation committed to the principle of government by consent of the governed. The formation of character, in the broadest sense of the word, is the most important function of education. Many of the facts learned in school and college are forgotten in later life. What is unforgettably precious is the impact of the personality of a great inspired teacher.

So it should be a matter of concern for America if there are signs of erosion in its greatest natural asset, the character of Americans, partly as a result of the teachings of the prophets of determinism and environmentalism. Pride in the signs of material well-being should be tempered by shame for the rising crime curve, for the shoddy standards of public and private behavior, for the implication of some trade-unions in extortionist rackets, for the gravely lowered standards of public education.

The one thing a nation cannot afford to lose is the individual character of its citizens. Should some great disaster of war or nature reduce the United States to poverty, its material possessions could be built up again, so long as the resolute, enterprising spirit of its pioneer founders and shapers survived. But no accumulation of wealth will stave off decadence if the key element in the good society, the good individual with a sense of moral responsibility to himself and his fellow-men, tends to decline or disappear.

To rescue the building of individual character from its present low estate, buried under a debris of institutional framework, to make it a primary objective, is the searching challenge of the day to American homes, schools and religious communions.

SECURITY TO BURN

(*Continued from p. 58*)

"A. That is a very good question. This matter was given serious attention, and the consensus was that the time would very likely come when there must be an overhaul of the OASI program which would involve consideration of personal means in determining eligiblity, to avoid a level of OASI tax rates so high as to induce widespread resistance among the workers. There was also agreement that this issue could be deferred by preserving the adequacy of the present scale of benefits through maintenance of sound fiscal policy and prevention of further inflation."

The moral of this tale is plain. We complain about the huge federal debt and groan about the interest cost, when there is a simple, direct way to eliminate a sizable share of both principal and interest. If the debt paper held in trust funds were to be burned publicly on the lawn of the Treasury Building, instead of in a "fire of mysterious origin," the rest of the story could be, in essentials, much as it has been imagined here. The burden of proof is on the opposition to show that substantive programs, and the rights and benefits of individuals under them, would be adversely affected thereby. In the writer's opinion, no such showing can be made. If this is correct, why not lighten our debt load by this much?

A clincher was put on this moral by the Congressman who recently made the naive suggestion that the "reserve" in the National Service Life Insurance trust fund be used to finance veterans' mortgages. This blew the lid clear off. Under Secretary of the Treasury Randoph Burgess explained that the "reserve" was not money, and that the Treasury could not convert this "reserve" into money except by borrowing from the people or the banks. This would obviously divert funds that would be available for direct investment in veterans' mortages. It would be in no sense a net addition to the total of funds seeking investment in the mortgage market. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the illusory nature of the billions of dollars of so-called "assets" held in the government trust funds.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

A Retired Colonel Takes on the Educationists

In 1939 a quiet middle-aged man who had for the time being retired from the army and was living in Long Island, decided he would take on Harold Rugg. There was a fight for you. Harold Rugg was one of the Frontier Thinkers (as they styled themselves) who set out in the twenties and thirties to remake American society. Professor Rugg, who dispensed his tablets from Columbia Teachers College where he served at the feet of John Dewey, was the author, at the time Colonel Augustin G. Rudd moved in, of books and pamphlets no less than five million copies of which were circulating in the nation's schools.

Professor Rugg's books, the core of the so-called Social Studies program in thousands of secondary schools, huffed and puffed in behalf of a New Social Order for America, any of whose similarities with the traditional order were strictly coincidental. A socialist (Rugg denies this), a pragmatist, a relativist, a social architect in the grand tradition, Rugg had come damn close to owning Social Science in secondary school America when Colonel Rudd and a few associates published a small book called *Undermining Our Republic,* which analyzed Rugg's teachings. The book had a sensational success. Almost overnight the community examined—and rejected—the social order toward which Professor Rugg was ardently beckoning their children; and the tide turned. Today Harold Rugg's books are out of print.

But the battle against the New Education is by no means won, Colonel Rudd realizes, and tells why in a wonderfully useful book, *Bending the Twig* (The Heritage Foundation, 121 West Wacker, Chicago, $3.95). Rugg is down, but Progressive Education is not out, not by any means. Columbia Teachers College is still the center of the educationists' patronage network, and it is still mesmerized by the superstitions of an educational philosophy which is partly responsible for the stupefying ignorance and indiscipline of a generation of Americans. Colonel Rudd devotes several chapters to identifying the political tendencies of Progressive Education and its most recent (PE is old hat) high priests. Beyond that, his book is concerned with the essential emptiness of Progressive Education as an educational philosophy.

Colonel Rudd reminds us that PE doesn't even produce the goods; it doesn't even work, he shows—so that indulging Progressive Education is about as horrible a thought as nominating Mr. Eisenhower for President and then *not even getting any votes!* Colonel Rudd reminds us of the wonderfully ironic fact that the Communists put up with permissive education just long enough, which by Western standards was lightning-fast, to convince themselves of its utter impracticality. At a time when PE was in the saddle and riding high in the United States, it was being summarily liquidated in the Soviet Union. In 1931 the Central Committee, prescribing a complete reorientation in Soviet educational methods, called attention to a "fundamental defect of our elementary and secondary education"—the schools' failure to send to "the higher institutions of learning, persons fully literate and possessed of the fundamentals of knowledge (physics, chemistry, mathematics, literature, geography, etc.)." By 1934, content had been restored to the Soviet curriculum, and discipline to the Soviet classroom.

Whose School?

Bending the Twig is, above all things, a highly useful reference book which contains abundant information on the background, nature, and results of progressive education. But Colonel Rudd's book does more: implicitly he is here to say that the primary responsibility for education lies with the parents. That is a bold position, for the corollary of it is that the parent must have a say as to what goes on in his child's school; and though there is elaborate machinery in this country for collecting a consensus of parents and alumni, their role, when all is said and done and the proper ritual observed, is like that of the Queen of England—to sign the Parliament's legislation and keep her royal trap shut.

Considerable strides have been made in the past ten years in resisting some of the enormities of Progressive Education. Most people, nowadays, will go along in ridiculing the professor who several short years ago, and for all I know with impunity, wrote in defense of illiteracy that after all there is no more reason to expect one student to learn to read proficiently than there is to expect another to be proficient in glass-blowing. But no headway at all has been made in the essentially political fight to reassert the authority of the layman in matters of educational organization and direction. Occasionally, as in Pasadena in 1950, the laymen win by exercising, in a glorious moment of impulse, brute political power: but so severe are the consequences of victory against the educationist bureaucracy that conservatives tend to be discouraged by their successes. (People in Pasadena who had a hand in ousting the principal tend to clear their throats and change the subject when the matter is brought up these days. Rather they should be telling their grandchildren about the day they booted out a snooty bureaucrat of the NEA.) The professionals, then, continue to maintain, in effect, that education is an expertise with respect to which only experts (*i.e.*; them, not us) have anything relevant to say.

Colonel Rudd does an admirable job in his admirable book to show that by any standard, no one could have been further off than the noisiest experts of our times. He makes clear, too, that the educationists will not yield without a fight. That fight, though, is surely worth it. For those in doubt it is only necessary to remember that the next disorderly ignoramus who graduates from PS 322 may be your own.

The Self-Importance of Picasso

The New York exhibition of a genius prompts the question: What will the artist-nihilist burn for inspiration? Himself? Even Picasso is not enough

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

And what is one to do when the cliché happens to be the *mot juste*? Yes, on seeing Piscasso's overwhelming Seventy-fifth Anniversary Exhibition, which the Museum of Modern Art will keep open in New York till September 8 (and the Art Institute of Chicago will show there from October 28 to December 8), the most pertinent thing I can say is really, "And how this man can paint if he wants to!" For the banality of this statement, I apologize. And, having apologized, I'd like to invite my reader on a journey into second thought.

Three floors and the basement of the Museum of Modern Art break down under the weight of this life work. It lifts the roof. It is very likely the last time that the West will have an occasion to encounter, in this age of atrophied creativeness, an artist who stays in a perpetual state of fecundity. The sheer magnitude of the work done in fifty-eight years (the oldest canvas exhibited is a watercolor of 1898, when Picasso was seventeen, the newest is an oil painted in June 1956) evokes reverence for the divine spark in man. And then, as one wanders from one eruption of this Protean talent to the next, a painful sadness overcomes the delight. This man can paint; perhaps no man, ever, could paint better. But this man has lost his soul to his self. The normal megalomania of the genius has, in him, reached beyond the confines and the proportions of human nature. God's world began to bore him. And so the genius, in his Promethean *ennui*, went out to create his own world. And he failed.

What we call Modern Art was of course born before Picasso (1881). But the Modern Artist—this unprecedented mixture of guts and spleen, spirit and dope, manna and rot—is entirely his design. It is, in fact, his replica. The Modern Artist *is* Picasso. Picasso has, in almost sixty years of overpowering productivity, set the artist's arrogant self against the created universe. With this, he has lifted, so to speak (and appropriately in Freudian terms), the subconscious of Modern Art into the conscious mind of the Modern Artist.

This was the fissure that separated Modern Art from the continuity of art that had flowed through history for two thousand uninterrupted years: In the nineteenth century the artist discovered that the painting existed, and had merits entirely in its own terms, without any reference to the painted. From there it was just a short jump to the final and essential tenet of Modern Art: that not even the painting mattered, but only the painter—that the painter's achievement was his "signature," his personality restlessly expressed throughout the length of his total opus, rather than the finished and finite individual canvas.

The Matrix of Decay

The artist, in other words, had flown off on the tangent of his self. For thousands of years, till the middle of the nineteenth century, the artist had lived in the obsession of "service": there was something objective outside him—God, or Beauty, or Nature, or Form—that he had to grasp, to arrest, to project in his painting. The artist's life, even if he personally was proud and haughty, was a debauch of dedication. He was (and considered himself) but a tool, an executor, a servant—select, yes, even privileged, but also driven and under orders. And then, as Nietzsche first noticed in a shattering moment of fright, "God was dead." Could dedication stay alive? Dedication to what?

In this matrix of general decay, Modern Art moved faster towards the explosion of traditional form than any other kind of human creativeness. The word and the sound—the media of all other arts—are incomparably more tied to accumulated experience ("tradition") than vision. This is perhaps due to the immense fact that, when we open our eyes, we see the unfathomable wonders of Creation, the sunset and the glaciers and the ocean and the stars; but we hear—with the rare exception of the thunder and the bird—only man's language and rather fatuous noises; so that our eye is *prepared* for the unexpected, but our ear and our mind only prepared for what we already know.

Yet whatever the reason is, the fact remains unquestionable: that the painter's power of seduction surpasses that of the poet and the musician. And the greatest seducer of them all, for more than fifty years, has been Pablo Picasso. In art, this century is his. It could not escape him even on perverse detours: each of them was designed by Picasso.

This Seventy-fifth Anniversary Exhibit, organized by an exemplary intelligence and with an almost smothering generosity, makes it definitively clear that Pablo Picasso has stood at the beginning of *every* "ism" of the last fifty years. Each time this Titan switched around, a new "art movement" started. Was it only his vitality, the immense prowess of this passionate painter? I wonder. In fact, I know that it was far more. His every whim was formative because his every whim was significant for the position of the artist in this disjointed age.

In the first place, Picasso became the general pattern precisely because he is arrogantly self-concerned. For the contemporary artist, who no longer "serves," it came with the force of liberation that an artist *can*

be so arrogantly self-concerned. Every other focus had dissolved. So the self must be the focus. And here was an artist, a Titan, who had the courage to worship his self. And thus Titan became the formative god.

The truly offensive element in all the perversities which, in succession, have become the "isms" of our century is the impudent cocksureness of their "message." Each time Picasso started another fad, and up to the moment when he staggered into the next, the very *last* "ism" strutted with the claim that it had better be taken as the *definitive* school of painting in our time. Now the painter would be maimed, and art would choke, if he were not internally free to experiment with his every means of expression. But an artist proves his maturity and his worthiness by knowing *when* his work has reached the definite character that entitles it to our attention. Up to that moment, the artist will experiment and suffer and destroy—above all, *destroy*—in the exhilarated inferno of his solitude. When he finally shows, he *knows*.

Not so Picasso. During the sixty years he has painted so far, he has never had a moment of doubt that his every stroke was final, valid, incomparable. His insatiable and yet so easily jaded appetites were the source of pompous revelation—simply because revelation, in this nihilistic world, could come from nowhere else. And, being revelation, though only for the moment, it had to be released to the world, each time, with the solemnity of definitive truth.

This, come to think of it, throws another light on Picasso's celebrated fecundity: perhaps he has not painted more than many other painters—perhaps he has only *shown* more. In some cases (Van Gogh, for example) we happen to know of major canvasses literally torn to shreds by the painter before anybody could see them. In other cases we are entitled to *assume* such self-criticism. Without any doubt Picasso is the first major painter who loved himself *all* the time.

And this is intended to be taken literally: he loved himself or, rather, his self all the time. He loved, in fact, nothing else. He *knew* nothing else. Fortunately it was a fascinating self; or else the "art appreciation" classes of the world would have been even drearier than they were. But one's self cannot grace art with the final dimension that makes an artifact a lasting and essential statement on the human condition. Some of Picasso's paintings will be exactly this—but merely because, in spite of his adulated self, in particular cases Picasso was moved by a greater (if only private) love. This, I am happy to report, seems to be true for his work of the very last few years: a force of great joy, of almost humble delight with form and color, again breaks through those stilted artificialities which he had acquired over the decades. But, viewed as a life's work, the opus of Pablo Picasso will remain one protracted statement on his self.

"*But He* Sees *It That Way!*"

When the Philistine complains about the horrors of Picasso's distortions, the partisan of Modern Art replies desperately: "But he *sees* it that way!" Very well. Then my quarrel with the Modern Artist is that he *sees* it that way. And why does he? Because, I contend, he is jaded. It may be a Titan's jadedness, a Promethean jadedness—it still is jadedness, the worst possible sin I can imagine. The Modern Artist looks at the created world—and he finds it wanting. Worse, he finds it boring. Worse still, he finds it ugly.

That the ultimate reason for Picasso's studied distortion is simply *ennui,* the exhibit in the Modern Museum proves to me beyond a doubt. Here, in the staggering succession of year after year after year, one feels almost physically how his senses have become surfeited—and how his boredom with the *human* form grew irresistible to him. And yet, he can't leave that form alone; for his appetites are human. So he must distract himself, amuse himself, by creating ever new perspectives, distortions, squints. In this exhibit one learns to understand Picasso as the sensuous painter who grows desperately tired of his senses and yet can't help being sensuous.

What clinches the case for me are the absolutely delightful animal sculptures Picasso has produced during the last few years—the painted terracotta owl of 1953, for instance. If there exists a more delectable animal sculpture, since the miracles of Egyptian mastery, I've forgotten it. But consider what this means! The aged Picasso, after several lifetimes of distorting the human form, joyfully "*imitates*" the gracefulness of animal nature! Why? Because, it seems to me, the "naturalistic" beauty of the animal has never yet bored him. The *ennui* was confined to the human form which had fascinated his senses to the point of distressed satiation.

It should by now be pretty obvious that I admire and do not love Pablo Picasso, that I consider him a towering genius and fundamentally reprehensible. Now like those of my readers who might resent that I call a Communist a genius, I know that Picasso is a Communist. Yet I also know that he is a genius—and what are we going to do about it? I for one propose to devote some attention to the fact that geniuses can be Communists, rather than conclude from their being Communists that they can't be geniuses.

In Picasso's particular case, it does not even surprise me that he became a Communist. It seems to me, in fact, that the Modern Artist, in general, is under very serious pressure to become one. For the Modern Artist is dedicated to nothing, he "serves" no objective mandate, and does not accept any discipline but that of his own self. The sinister trouble is that no man can live in such utter isolation. Thus, to keep body and soul together, the Modern Artist will be terribly tempted to *simulate* a broad and general kind of dedication. And Communism is very much what he might find convenient—a terribly general, terribly abstract, terribly "profound" dedication which, actually, does not mean a darned thing to him as an *artist*. Embracing the wholly abstract dedication, he can safely remain the uncommitted, isolated, contemptuous painter-nihilist.

That the Modern Painter is in this kind of trouble is, of course, also an indictment of his time. He did not choose to avoid dedication; his *age* has banned it from our experience. It is an undedicated, lukewarm age. In this under-chilled society of ours, to find the warmth that alone can make him create, the artist must burn himself. And so his self, his only fuel, becomes his only god. This is the story of Pablo Picasso.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Integration Is Communization

RICHARD M. WEAVER

The Supreme Court's extraordinary dictate to the public schools promises to keep race relations inflamed for an indefinite period. It is therefore to be expected that there will be a continuing spate of books from "liberal" sources, filled with self-righteousness and preaching the funeral of what is pejoratively called "discrimination." At hand are three which suggest the range of treatment: *The Negro and Southern Politics*, by Hugh D. Price (New York University Press, $5.00); *Go South to Sorrow*, by Carl T. Rowan (Random House, $3.50); and *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, by Leo Kuper (Yale University Press, $3.50).

Mr. Price's book was originally a thesis done at the University of Florida. Dealing in the statistics and "trends" of social science, it surveys the role of the Negro in recent Florida politics and, with an occasional jab at conservatism, concludes that he is there to stay. *Go South to Sorrow* is low-grade political journalism. Declamatory, shrill, and containing wild misstatements (*e. g.*, "No child in South Carolina gets the kind of schooling given to youngsters in Michigan," and "Everyone in Alabama is poorer than everyone in Pennsylvania"), it is a sorry specimen of Negro intellectual leadership. Mr. Kuper's book centers on the apartheid movement in South Africa and, at the expense of considerable jargon, comes to the conclusion that passive resistance is proving a useful political instrumentality.

If this were all, Mr. Kuper's book might be the most innocuous of the three. But this is not all, for it is Mr. Kuper who, unwittingly or not, opens the real issue. In his discussion of race relations in South Africa, he notes that Communism is there being progressively redefined in racial terms. That is to say, Communism is coming to be identified in racial integration. The blame for this he tries to shift to the apartheid laws themselves. But surely this is artless. The Communist attitude toward race stems from Communism's positivistic representation of man, which has always had as one of its cardinal tenets the dogma that there are no real differences between people except economic differences. Remove the economic differences and all the others —racial, cultural, social, and moral— disappear. Thus the collectivizing of the economy can be depended on to obliterate the various differences that keep people from being "socialized."

Herein lies the clue to much that confronts us today. The Communists are skilled enough in warfare to know that their goal can be approached by different ways. They know that some nations are still too "backward" to look with an enthusiastic eye upon the collectivizing of their economy. These nations must be edged toward it by indirect methods. And the Communist tactic most aggressively used in this country now is the one hinted at by Mr. Kuper—the approach through the idea of "racial collectivism." This phase of the levelling or obliterating process can now be presented with a great deal of moral unction. Moreover, it has the tactical advantage of undermining our historic constitutional structure.

In every part of the United States the common people, who do not wear the blinkers that some politicians prefer to don, have understood this for a good long while. To them Communism has always signalized its advent by an ostensibly free and natural but actually self-conscious and tendentious racial mingling. This is the way the American public has intuitively spotted the emergence of Communism. And its reaction, despite the stream of propaganda and wishful editorializing from many sectors of the press, has been about 90 per cent in favor of our traditional American society and mores.

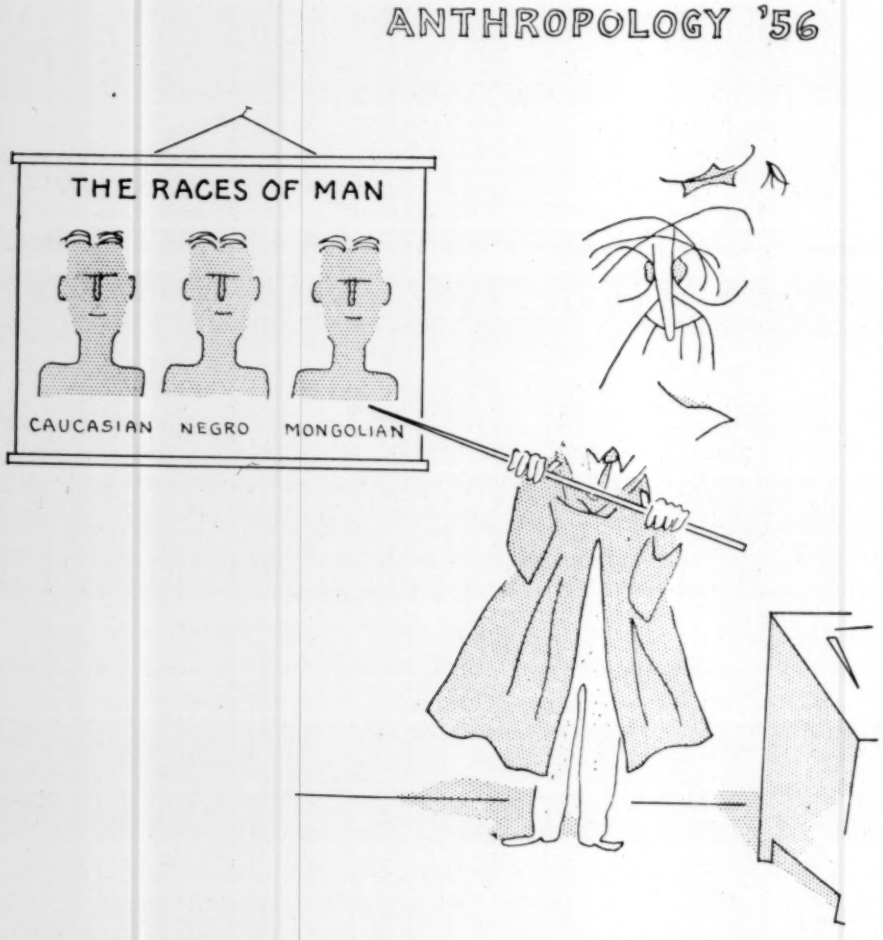
The common people often perceive elemental things which the overeducated cannot see. That they have been right in identifying this as the opening tactic of Communism in this country now seems beyond question. We can observe in a number of areas how "racial collectivism" is being used as a crowbar to pry loose rights over private property. There was a time when ownership of property gave the owner the right to say to whom he would and would not sell and rent. But now, with the outlawing of restrictive covenants by the Supreme Court (especially in *Shelley v. Kraemer*), this right has been invaded, if not effectually taken away. There was a time when owners had complete discretion as to whom they would and would not hire to work in their private businesses. Now that right is invaded by various kinds of FEPC laws, which tell him that he cannot consider differences of race in selecting his employees. There was a time when private educational institutions had the right to set up any standards they chose for the admission of students. Now at least ne state has a law which forbids any institution even to accept applications with data relating to the race and religion of the student applying. Just recently there has come the decision of the Supreme Court in the Girard College case, in which the terms of a will which had stood for more than one hundred years were set aside because the charity it provided had been limited to white orphan boys. One must have a pretty sophistical education not to see in this a steady and indeed now far advanced eroding of rights over private property fol-

lowing a Communist racial theory. In most of the process the Supreme Court has been, as Mr. Frederic Nelson suggests in a contemporary article, the "running dog" of the Kremlin.

"Integration" and "Communization" are, after all, pretty closely synonymous. In the light of what is happening today, the first may be little more than a euphemism for the second. It does not take many steps to get from the "integrating" of facilities to the "communizing" of facilities, if the impulse is there.

To remove any doubt as to the impulse behind this Liberal line, let us turn back to *The Negro and Southern Politics* and look at the Introduction. This was provided by William G. Carleton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida; and here the terms of the new rhetoric emerge in all their audacity. Why, Professor Carleton asks, is the integration movement destined to prevail? And he replies: "Because it is in harmony with the integrated mass society that machine technology has produced, to which we are irrevocably committed." And why should this be accepted as inevitable? The answer lies in "the mass conformity and increasingly 'other directed' nature of all segments of American society." Now he is ready for the big admission. The specific cause of the whole movement, he owns, is "Communist competition on a world scale." So the professor is able to conclude grandly by declaring: "If democratic reformists were able to see themselves in historical perspective, they would paraphrase Voltaire and say, 'If Marx had never existed, we should have had to invent him.' " All this, it must be added, is said with perfect complacency, without a trace of suggestion that somewhere we ought to stand and fight against this submergence in massness. Here we have in a brief passage the reality that the Liberal journals have so industriously tried to deny: Moscow is piping the tune; the American professoriate is beating time; and we are beginning to dance to it.

While this surrender goes on, the Liberal publicists encourage it by representing every concession as a gain and every evacuation as a victory. We can expect no end to such demoralization until they and their followers calm down enough to see the truth of three propositions. 1) Integration is not an end in itself. 2) Forcible integration would ignore the truth that equals are not identicals. 3) In a free society, associations for educational, cultural, social, and business purposes have a right to protect their integrity against political fanaticism. The alternative to this is the destruction of free society and the replacement of its functions by government, which is the Marxist dream.



Kreuttner

"First of all, I want to pay tribute to the exhaustive research our team of scientists put into the preparation of this chart, thus enabling us to clarify our thinking and eliminate certain misconceptions."

Burning Mind

The Pope Speaks: The Teachings of Pope Pius XII. Compiled and edited by Michael Chinigo. 378 pp. New York: Pantheon Books, $4.50

"Intellectuals," today, lack intellect, just as "realists" lack realism. And why not? Ours is the Culture of the Fog, and our "rationality" mere pride in the relativity which turns the universe into a multiverse of chaotic drifting mist. Where, among today's "intellectuals" and "realists," is a single towering mind that, like the sun, gives geometry and the spectrum and a universe shareable and shared?

Here is such a mind! The Pope speaks as the spiritual leader of the Church; yet he startles us not by his spiritual insight (we expect that), but by the long-lost art of clear *thinking*.

That the Pope speaking differs from the clutter of John Dewey, the puerilities of Sartre, the credulities of Bertrand Russell, is natural. For it is impossible to base thought upon Reason unless Reason is itself based in the constitution of a cosmos. Today's "intellectuals" deny that Reason *can be* so based; the Pope knows that Reason *is* so based.

And what precision, what insight, what trenchant logic is the result!

Notice the cogency of sheer definition: "The miracle is born when the effects are manifest and the cause concealed." Here is a *mind,* and thought expressed, as it must always be, in language lucid, precise, and beautiful as a telescope selecting stars out of the night.

The Pope speaks of art: "But when a work of art needs to be explained, it loses its peculiar value and only serves to give the senses purely physical enjoyment and to the spirit the enjoyment of a subtle and empty game." He speaks of science: "Contrary to rash statements in the past, the more true science advances, the more it discovers God, almost as though He were standing, vigilant and waiting, behind every door." He speaks of nature: "No: nature is reality, recognizable reality. If things seem to be and are mute, they have, however, a language that speaks to us, that emerges from their bosom like water from a perennial spring."

When the Pope speaks of politics, he is not (like Walter Lippmann) a fog floating. In one sentence he concentrates Communism: "In a way not differing from other social orderings and systems, which it claims to oppose, it ties up, marshals, and compresses everything into one fearful instrument of war, which exacts not only the blood and health but also the goods and prosperity of the people." He balances this with a vision of true government: "The State is, and must be in reality, the organic and organizing unity of a true people." He distinguishes between that verbal atrocity, "the masses," and living men (Unamuno's "man of flesh and bone"). "A people lives and moves by its own vitality; the mass is inert in itself, and can only be moved from without." He rejects that horrible phrase of Anti-Christ, "the common man," knowing that the whole genius of Christianity is to see every man *un*common. He knows that "Equality degenerates into a mechanical levelling, into a drab uniformity: the sentiment of true honor, personal commitment, respect for tradition, dignity—in a word, all that gives life its true value—little by little sinks and disappears." He speaks of man's adventure through our mortal life. Life, "even with all its errors, is a hymn to God." He speaks of "this earth, on which all of us, under whatever sky, have been placed to struggle, as the children of God, for a life of eternal happiness."

Here, in a great spiritual leader, one finds at last what the Intellectuals commend and destroy: intellect. Here, in the clear, precise, lucid Reason of the Pope, burning away our fog of relativity and nihilism, is the sun of living *mind.* E. MERRILL ROOT

Non-Atomic Wars

Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy, by Robert Endicott Osgood. 315 pp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $5.00

Mr. Osgood warns that we are at present prepared, both militarily and psychologically, for but two courses: total war or piecemeal surrender. While we must maintain nuclear capacity to prevent losing by default, and on the off chance that somebody's miscalculation may trigger the catastrophe nobody wants, we must also remember that the Soviets will hardly start throwing H-bombs so that we can retaliate. Those who would rule the world naturally intend to be around to enjoy it. Nor is it likely that we would begin throwing the bombs ourselves, although we might possibly do so in desperation *after* a series of limited defeats had fatally undermined our position. Therefore, Mr. Osgood proposes that we prepare ourselves for limited contests—those local aggressions and civil wars by which the Communists have been advancing and will continue to advance to their goal.

This is undoubtedly correct, but here the author gets off his own track. He concludes that the way to get the proper force is to spend more money (even $50 billion a year, he says) and draft more men. And once achieved, this limited capacity should be used solely to contain Communism. Thus Mr. Osgood would have us be right for the wrong reasons and by the wrong methods.

The relatively small but highly trained "forces-in-being" that are needed for limited war would probably cost far less than we now spend on our military establishment, and ought to eliminate the draft, since nothing short of *élite* professionals (possibly including a Foreign Legion of the hard European anti-Communists) would do.

What Mr. Osgood seems to have intended to say is that the world badly needs a *Pax Americana;* and that, unless the U.S. makes use of its power, in time, to defend its interests no matter how or by whom they are threatened, there can be little hope either for American survival or for Western civilization. J. P. MCFADDEN

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Scrutiny of the Court

The Supreme Court, by Bernard Schwartz. 429 pp. New York: Ronald Press Company. $6.50

The Supreme Court has been so embroiled in controversy in the last twenty-five years that it has rarely received calm, considered criticism. One has the impression that only Liberals have taken the trouble to write books about the Court; and these books have reflected the current view of the Court held by the Liberal community. Hence in the 1930s the tone was that of intemperate abuse; in the middle 1950s it has been that of indiscriminate adulation. The results may have been helpful to the authors in providing a release for their emotions, but the public derived little benefit. This has been unfortunate. As the late Chief Justice Stone said in a remark quoted by Professor Schwartz: "When the courts deal, as ours do, with great public questions, the only protection against unwise decisions, and even judicial usurpation, is careful scrutiny of their action and fearless comment on it."

This volume by Professor Schwartz is therefore most refreshing. It provides exposition, analysis and comment of the best sort. The book is primarily a review of the Court's decisions since the "Constitutional Revolution of 1937," according to the principal subject matters with which the Court deals—"The Congress," "The President," "The Administrative Agency," etc. In a concluding chapter, "Anatomy and Pathology of the Court," he considers various recent tendencies.

Professor Schwartz condemns the ready disposition of the Court to overrule precedent, a disposition leading to Justice Roberts' famous assertion that the Court's decisions had come to be like a "restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only." According to Professor Schwartz, "The foremost duty of the judge is to preserve the internal consistency of the law, unless departure from established principles has become an overwhelming necessity." On the whole, however, Professor Schwartz believes that "despite aberrations, notably by certain Justices," the Court's decisions of the last twenty years "have followed logical patterns."

Another practice increasingly adopted by members of the Court, to Professor Schwartz's regret, has been the writing of concurring and dissenting opinions. Dissents should be reserved, he believes, for the most exceptional cases. Justice Holmes, known as a "great dissenter," dissented in only seventy of the over six thousand cases in which he participated. In the 1934-1936 period, regarded at the time as extraordinary by reason of the number of dissents, the percentage of cases in which dissents were noted varied from 13 to 19. But at the terms of Court beginning in 1951 and 1952 those percentages reached 80 and 71, respectively. (As Professor Schwartz finished the book in April 1957, he does not comment on the decisions of the last few months.)

Despite my enthusiasm for this book I by no means agree with all the author's opinions. Happily he presents them as such, not as divine revelation, and allows the reader to agree or to disagree.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

The Captives of Korea, by William Lindsay White. 347 pp. Scribner's. $4.95

This report on the brutal and barbarous manner in which Communists wage war should be stuffed down the throat of every Establishment pundit who lectures us on the need of being prepared to fight decades of "little wars." It might be possible to think of risking the tortures and brainwashing to which the Communists subject their captured enemies, if the war were being fought to win it once and for all. But for such a war we have the hydrogen bomb. And when you finish reading this book, you wonder what's so wrong with the hydrogen bomb compared to the things that go on in "little wars" against Communism.

Ortega y Gasset, An Outline of His Philosophy, by José Ferrater Mora. 69 pp. Yale University Press. $2.50

Ortega y Gasset is mainly known in this country for *The Revolt of the Masses.* Important though this book is, it is a small sample of the richness of his work. It is most unfortunate that, with the exception of it and one or two other books, the great bulk of what he has written still awaits translation into English. Professor Mora's brief but excellent analysis of his thought is extraordinarily useful. Ortega's mind was uncontaminated by the fashions of the age; his originality was of the sort that gives to old traditional truths a presentation that makes them live in contemporary circumstances. The appearance of Professor Mora's book may perhaps help to encourage those translations and publications of his work that are now so long overdue.

Fabian International Essays, edited by T.E.M. McKitterick and Kenneth Younger. 219 pp. Praeger. $3.75

Assembled here is a group of essays by leading British Labor Party intellectuals, including John Strachey, P. C. Gordon Walker, and Richard Lowenthal (Foreign Affairs Commentator of the *Observer,* whose paper was the original source of the liberation - by - withdrawing - our-troops line). As might be expected, their proposals add up to a sure formula for the destruction of freedom: coexistence, disarmament, heavy economic aid (mainly American, of course) to "backward areas," including those behind the Iron Curtain, and the development of strong "supra-national institutions" directed towards "a major re-distribution of the world's income."

Your Child's Speech, by Flora Rheta Schreiber, 256 pp. New York: Putnam's. $3.50

Admitting the value of a systematic discussion of things our parents and grandparents took in their stride as a by-product of family practice and family wisdom, Miss Schreiber has done an admirable job of analysis and explanation. And, in this groupist field, her emphasis upon the individual is exemplary.

Patrick J. Hurley, by Don Lohbeck. 513 pp. $6.50

Pat Hurley was a man who could retain his fundamental old-fashioned Americanism and still win the friendship and support of F.D.R.; who could beard Stalin to his teeth and keep him intrigued in conversation till two in the morning; who could go to China for Roosevelt and Truman and battle the Vincent-Service-Davies-Lattimore cabal all the way. He was one of the few in high places who fought first and last for American interests in the years we won the greatest of wars to reap from it the greatest of defeats. If he erred, it was in placing alongside of his anti-Communism an almost equal opposition to the receding imperialisms of the Old World at a time when they could only be succeeded by the new and monstrous imperialism of the Soviets. Mr. Lohbeck has done him full justice, and in doing so, provided rich material, hitherto largely unavailable, on the history of the period.

(Reviewed by Frank S. Meyer)

To the Editor

Enlightenment and the League

I wish to thank you for the keen item "Baltimore Ambush" [June 22]. I have been working with a number of women who are eager to bring the facts regarding the League of Women Voters before the public. It is uphill work, for there seems to be a widespread illusion as to some enormous prestige associated with membership in the group; but there is also considerable resentment as to the League's activities in the minds of many women who had hoped it would be a real means of political enlightenment.

Needham, Mass. H.W.

Foundations and the Far East

Willi Schlamm's indignation at Prof. Gatzke's egghead current history published by Rand McNally & Co. [June 22] reminded me of the following quotation from *The United States in World Affairs 1950* published by the Council on Foreign Relations. This book, for which the Rockfeller Foundation gave the Council more than $20,000, explained McCarthy's charges and Red China's entry into the Korean War as follows:

> There is no way to determine how far the more uncritical supporters of this campaign were actuated by individual credulity, by party zeal, or "China Lobby," . . . It is equally futile to speculate about how far the Kremlin, plotting its own course in the Far East, was encouraged by this exhibition of disunity at the heart of the free world. . . .
>
> By creating fresh obstacles to the diplomatic recognition of Communist China, it helped set the stage for the grave crisis in Chinese-American relations that was to occur later in the year. In the meantime it aggravated public confusion at home, undermined the reputation of honest and able officials, aggravated the sense of personal insecurity that pervaded the government service, and contributed to a wave of anti-Communist hysteria which already threatened to engulf the country. By its methods it offered confirmatory evidence to those abroad who professed to see in the United States a land of thinly veiled reaction.

The Ford Foundation has now given $420,000 to Columbia University to rewrite Chinese History. According to Mr. Schlamm, Prof. Gatzke did his job without foundation help. Just think what he could have done with $20,000 (or $240,000) tax free to help out.

I shudder when I think what my grandchildren are going to be taught once our giant foundations really hit their stride.

New York City ALFRED KOHLBERG

For Ideological Export

. . . we think material like the NATIONAL REVIEW a most appropriate ***foreign aid,*** **let alone an ideological** assistance, which we consider necessary and important today! Would you or friends be able to let us have books (read ones will do) which you think useful for our efforts over here? They would help us to set up a small, but effective home-library, available to all, interesting our fellow-countrymen in them. Truth on Liberalism and on Communism must be spread! We are only too willing to invest our youthful enthusiasm in this so necessary work to see the truth spread to everyone; we only need the tools to work with.

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"Spontaneous Riots"

The American people are, as a whole, inclined to be unaggressive, generous and too idealistic. Our enthusiastic reactions, either pro or con, are often subject to the law of diminishing returns—possibly a characteristic of our youth. Hungary, as the Russians prophesied in the U.N., has been practically forgotten, and now the question is being asked as to whether the "popular hostility toward Red China is wearing thin."

If so, the Taipei riots may be counted a contributing cause. . . . But can anyone of adult mentality, who is not suffering from political amnesia, really believe that the Taipei incident was coincidence—perfectly timed as it was with Great Britain's decision to relax the strategic trade embargo against Red China, our State Department's embarrassment as to "how shall I tell my child?" and the accelerated activity on the part of certain pressure groups anxious to recognize and trade with Red China?

I am not accusing the British, [or] our State Department . . . of having engineered the Taipei riots, but would the Communists hesitate to stage such a demonstration in a moment of such psychological importance?

As the wife of a German, I lived in Germany until December 1935. I have witnessed "spontaneous uprisings."

New York City KATHERINE HOBSON

Loving Our Laments

I very much enjoyed the June 29 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Your discomfort in the face of the recent Supreme Court rulings is heartening to one who feels that these rulings were long overdue.

I have long been citing NATIONAL REVIEW to persons who wish to see examples of the big lie and half-truth. The article "Has Congress Abdicated?" together with Mr. William S. Schlamm's usual bilge, make the current issue a collector's item to anyone who is fond of nonsense, pretentious trivia, and vicious innuendo.

By the way, re your recent eulogies of Joe McCarthy, may I say that I, too, was sorry that McCarthy died. I feel that the people of Wisconsin deserved one more chance to rectify their errors of 1946 and 1952. McCarthy was not worthy of martyrdom, and political defeat would more effectively have killed his influence than death ever could.

Fairmont, W. Va. RICHARD G. ELLIOTT

"Chappaqua Builds its Dream School"

Priscilla L. Buckley's recent article (June 1) which showed what the new "superschools" mean to the taxpayer, is now available in reprint form.

15¢ each, $10 per 100

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